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### DMYTRO PALIIV'S SCIENTIFIC MEMOIR PUBLICATIONS

*In the article D. Paliiv's scientific studies on the military history of Ukraine of the XX century, first of all, the history of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, November revolution of 1918 on the West Ukrainian lands, participations of Galician army in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918 – 1919, and the Ukrainian national-liberation movement in Poland in 1921 – 1939 are subjected to a due consideration. The value of a creative work of D. Paliiv for the development of the domestic military history is shown.*

**Key words:** Dmytro Paliiv, the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Galician army, national-liberation movement.

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### НАУКОВО-МЕМУАРНІ ПУБЛІКАЦІЇ ДМИТРА ПАЛІЄВА

*У статті проаналізовано наукові студії Д. Палієва з воєнної історії України XX ст. Показано цінність його творчого доробку для розвитку вітчизняної військової історичної науки, визначено його внесок в історіографію визвольних змагань України першої половини XX ст.*

*Загалом науково-мемуарну спадщину Д. Палієва (386 позицій) можна умовно згрупувати у такі проблемно-тематичні блоки: історія легіону Українських січових стрільців (1914 – 1918); Листопадова національно-демократична революція 1918 р.; Галицька армія, її участь в українсько-польській війні 1918 – 1919 рр.; український національно-визвольний рух у Польщі міжвоєнного періоду (1921 – 1939); українська проблема у роки Другої світової війни.*

*Важливі військово-політичні висновки Д. Палієв будує на основі дослідження Визвольних змагань 1914 – 1921 рр. Історичні події, що відбувалися в Україні в зазначений період, простежуються вченим у низці публікацій. Торкаючись питання про державотворчі можливості Галицької армії, він доходить висновку, що її тимчасові перемоги (Вовчухівська операція, Чортківський наступ) пояснювалися ініціативою кількох вищих старшин та енергією стрільцтва за відсутності теоретичних здібностей і практичного досвіду Начальної команди. Значна кількість праць Д. Палієва присвячений формуванню праворадикального табору національно-визвольного руху, зокрема політичним передумовам створення та ідеологічним засадам діяльності Фронту національної єдності (ФНЄ). Д. Палієв прагнув також узагальнити західноєвропейську філософську думку ідеалістичного спрямування другої половини XIX ст., до чого він заохочував редакцію журналу «Перемога».*

*У статті проаналізовано погляди Дмитра Палієва щодо початку Другої світової війни. Коли розпочалась радянсько-німецька війна, він стояв на тому, що українці повинні взяти в ній участь, і то не як партизани, розбиті на різні групи, а як вишколена військова одиниця.*

*Військово-політичний досвід та історичні традиції української державності 1917 – 1920 рр. залишилися, на думку Д. Палієва, недооціненими і, значною мірою, недослідженими, хоча їх вистачило б, щоб виховати цілі покоління державно мислячих, творчих особистостей. Основною умовою відродження української державності він вважав соборно-територіальну і політичну*

єдність суспільства. Спираючись на історичний досвід 20–30-х рр. XX ст., Д. Паліїв робить висновок: здійснення стратегічної мети – відродження незалежної соборної України – залежатиме, в першу чергу, від геополітичної ситуації в Європі, а також стосунків із сусідами і великими державами.

**Ключові слова:** Дмитро Паліїв, легіон УСС, Галицька армія, національно-визвольний рух.

**The statement of the problem.** The science of Ukrainian military history was created after the liberation struggle in 1917 – 1921. Then the Ukrainian polticum generated the first national (not only by duty, but also by spirit) military formations which in 1918 – 1920 became the basis of the army of ZUNR and UNR. Actually, this military-political environment produced for Ukraine hundreds of foremen and – hence – dozens of combat organizations and organs of press round which lovers of history rallied, and the Ukrainian military-historical thought developed. In the cohort of military historians of Ukraine of the first half of the XX century, after M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko V. Petriv, O. Udovychenko, M. Kapustianskyi, M. Kakurin, L. Shankovskiy, and D. Mykytiuk, the name of Dmytro Paliiv should be rightfully mentioned as one whose creative work deserves a special scientific consideration.

**The analysis of recent researches.** Unfortunately, D. Paliiv's scientific-memoir publications are only being compiled by bibliographers (in particular, by Lviv dweller M. Moroz and daughter Kh. Paliiv-Turcheniuk) and are under preparation for being published as a separate edition at I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies. A part of them is kept in the archive and department of scientific and informative editions of this institute.

The **purpose** of this article is to analyze Dmytro Paliiv's scientific-historical works, to define its contribution into the historiography of Ukraine's liberation struggle of the first half of the XX century.

**The statement of the basic material.** D. Paliiv's scientific-memoir and publicistic heritage can be conditionally grouped into such problem-thematic blocks:

1. History of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (1914 – 1918);
2. November national-democratic revolution (1918);
3. Galician army, its participation in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918 – 1919;
4. The Ukrainian national-liberation movement in Poland in the interwar period (1921 – 1939);
5. The Ukrainian problem in the time of the Second World War.

D. Paliiv constructs his important military-political conclusions on the basis of his research of the liberation struggle of 1914 – 1921. The historical events which take place in Ukraine during the specified period, are traced by the scientist in a number of publications. In particular, in his sketch «Twenty five years» which was printed in «Kalendar Bat'kivshchyny» for 1939, D. Paliiv analyzes the geopolitical position in Europe on the eve of the First World War and makes an attempt of socio-political analysis of the public thought of the region concerning a possible war and its course (Paliiv, 1938: 86). He also affirms: Galician society hoped that the war, probably, would change the European borders' outlines, and the Ukrainians with arms in hands would revive the national state (Paliiv, 1938: 86) He also describes a reaction of volunteers to the tsar's permission to accept only 2 thousand riflemen into the USSR Legion. D. Paliiv wrote this: «Now, this is the first time in our life that before us, young, the mysterious truth has stood up in full height: even the right to give your life should be got in struggle...» (Paliiv, 1938: 87).

According to D. Paliiv, in the autumn of 1917 the Russian army was not capable to conduct a high-grade struggle any more as it a lot of regiments in the Southwest front became

Ukranized. In his sketch «U. S. R. on a crossroad. Memoirs of 20 years past» the author in detail analyzes the fighting way of the USR Legion in the Carpathians and Podolia, and its reaction to the Russian, and – later – Ukrainian national revolutions. «Beyond the Zbruch river all was a boiling caldron. Thus, oh God!, the outskirts of the Ukrainian state slowly began to appear from the chaos of the All-Russia revolution! Kiev already has its power and its own! The dream which the Riflemen cherished in 1914 was – though timidly – carried out. And together with that the spines become more straight, eyes look braver, and the Riflemen's faces become clearer» (Paliiv, 1936: 40).

In November of 1916 the emperor proclaimed the independence of Poland. In the beginning of 1917 it became obvious that Galicia would, probably, belong to the Polish state. An indignation arouse among the Ukrainian population. «The Riflemen were indignant. In our minds absolutely expressively the second front was already sketched. Not towards the east against the compatriots, but towards the West», – recollected D. Paliiv (Paliiv, 1936: 41).

Paliiv's historical-memoirs sketch «The November revolution» was substantial by its concrete historical material and with an original conclusion. It was published in 1929 by the Lviv publishing house «Chervona Kalyna». In it the activity of the Central military committee concerning the preparation of the November 1 armed revolt in Lviv and the region, and the CMC's role in the creation of the Supreme Command of Galician army are shown (the command, in the author's opinion, was created too late) (Paliiv, 1929: 16).

In his publicistic sketch «The First November» in the «Illustrated Ukrainian National Calendar for 1928», which was published in Peremyshl in 1927, this theme is mentioned again. The new edition was published under the aegis of the weekly «Ukranskyi Holos» («Ukrainian voice»). In the aforementioned publications the recent military in detail characterises the political and military situations on the eve of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy: «October, 1918. Nobody knows what the next days and weeks will bring about... On the basis of the emperor's manifesto four national states should have risen: German-Austrian, Czech, South-Slavic, and Ukrainian. However, as the question of Galicia was not yet clarified, so, the issue of the Ukrainian national state was with a question mark» (Paliiv, 1936: 41).

Dmytro Paliiv considered the November Revolution (alias November Deed) a great, but temporary political success of the Galicians. He defined the reasons of the political failure (on November 21–22) of the Ukrainians in Lviv. In his opinion, the revolution took place very much late. In the second half of October from the Polish kingdom thousands of Polish legionaries and members of various legal and underground military organizations were thrown to Lviv, and they created the cadres for the Polish insurgent army, which began fighting for the city. At the same time, the political leadership of Galician Ukrainians lingered with the revolt as it hoped that the Austrian government in Vienna would voluntarily delegate the power to the Ukrainians according to the manifesto of Emperor Charles of October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1918. On October 20<sup>th</sup> on the square of St. George in Lviv, the representatives of the National Rada declared the decision to create the Ukrainian state. However, many Ukrainian politicians saw Ukraine's future as a part of the Austrian federation. In this connection Paliiv comes to an unfavourable conclusion: «The official policy of the nation was at rest in the hands of the people with the Austrian orientation» (Paliiv, 1936: 42). These Galician ambassadors of the «Austrian orientation» D. Paliiv criticizes in the aforementioned memoirs.

The second reason of the defeat Dmytro Paliiv saw in the great losses of the Legion in past, which made it rather weak for the creation in Austria of a military centre of the Ukrain-

ian revolution. «It is possible to affirm, that on Mountain Lysa and under Potutory the USR lost almost all its active, they became absolute orphans... The November revolution took place without the Riflemen as an organisation» (Paliiv, 1936: 42). And really, the echelon with the USR arrived from Chernivtsi to Lviv only on November 3–4, after the Polish insurgents had retaken from the Ukrainians the basic strategic objects, that is, the railway station, post-office, and airport. Dmytro Paliiv considered that to Lviv, it was possible to avoid catastrophic delay of the Legion, if the Riflemen operated at will, without orders or, even, against orders (Lytvyn, 1998, 140).

D. Paliiv makes a conclusion: the West Ukrainian national republic was a short-term state association as the local political leadership, which consisted mainly of intelligentsia, showed uncertainty and inability to creation of the sovereign state under the extremal war conditions (Paliiv, 1936: 42). He underlines that the November national-democratic revolution lacked a leader who would lead the people to what was so brilliantly initiated on November 1. President Yevheniy Petrushevych and a part of the National Rada did not, actually, participate in the revolution, being in Vienna on those critical November days; prime minister Kost' Levytskyi did not go with the retreating ZUNR government in the end of November; several times the commanders of the young armed forces were changed... In this connection Paliiv remarked: «For 21 day of fights in Lviv the army commanders changed thrice. What does it mean? That the man to head the revolution was already sought for... The mentioned facts confirm this unique tragical reality: there was no such man in the Western Ukraine, who could be the embodiment of the revolution» (Paliiv, 1934: 44). Probably, one can hardly agree with D. Paliiv's categorical conclusion, but that time skilled Galician politicians-ambassadors were really not always capable or cardinal political steps.

As has been already noticed, D. Paliiv resolutely defended a sovereign way of the state building of ZUNR and even made a speech on its unification with the UNR. Therefore, it is understood why he was elected a member of the delegation of the State secretariat which in December 1918 went in Fastiv on the preliminary negotiations about the unification and, also, agreed with the Directory of the UNR to appoint a skilled general as a commander of the Galician army, and the chief of its staff. The delegation then come back with general Mykhailo Omelianovych-Pavlenko and the staff colonel Yevheniy Myshkovskyi, who took the leading posts in the Galician army on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918. About the trip to the Dnieper Ukraine he writes article «A Bunch of Memoirs. A Pursuit for Generals» in the «Kalendar of Chervona Kalyna for 1935» (Paliiv, 1934: 40).

Concerning a question about the state-forming abilities of the Galician army, he comes to a conclusion that its temporary victories (the Vovchukhiv operation, the Chortkiv approach) were explained by the initiative of several foremen (starshyn) and energy of the Riflemen in the absence of theoretical abilities and practical experience of the Supreme Commands (Paliiv, 1934: 40).

D. Paliiv analyzes not only the heroic (the autumn of 1918 – summer of 1919), but also the tragic stage of the fighting way of the Galician army, when, under the pressure of the superior forces of Polish general J. Galler's army (in fact, the Entente's forces) it retreated behind the Zbruch river and soon, captured by a typhus epidemic, signed the agreement with the armed forces of the «White» Russia. In article «Na chysty wody», which was published in Lviv's «Litopys Chervonoyi Kalyny» in 1930, platoon sergeant D. Paliiv as the former aide-de-camp of the Supreme Leader of the Ukrainian Galician army, general Myron Tarnavskyi tries to analyse the inconsistent actions of the foremen in order to find the truth about

the UGA. This «exit» was necessary for the UGA after the contract with Dobrarmy of general Denikin, which was drawn on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1919 in Odessa. The author calls this contract «strange» as it was drawn by the Supreme command of the army which defended the sovereignty of Ukraine, with the party which to this sovereignty completely objected (Paliiv, 1930: 17).

After the defeat of the liberation struggle D. Paliiv, figuratively speaking, changed his revolver for a pen. So, the military-foreman became the politician and journalist. These sides of his personality often intertwine and it is difficult to differentiate them. As is known, the military-political journalism is a choosy sphere of action: you can not be a good publicist, if you are not informed in details of the political game of the society, in particular, of the society of the dependent nation, which all the time searches for a new way to reach its highest purpose, that is, to achieve the national sovereignty. The political publicism in which Dmytro Paliiv persistently was engaged, was a wide field of activity. However, then the fair professional journalist lived from this trade, but he lived in poverty and stingily, as the Ukrainian press on its native land under Poland between the two world wars stood as a means of earning, on one of the lowest steps. But publicism for Dmytro Paliiv was not only a way of earning money: his temperament, all his national-patriotic bearing, spontaneity, impatience, and impulsiveness prompted him to share all that boiled in him with his fellow countrymen. And, consequently, the newspaper was necessary to him not only as a source of scanty earnings, but also as a supplement to his own «ego».

His journalistic practice Dmytro Paliiv acquired in the political chronicle «Zahrava» («A Glow»), which was a publication of the Ukrainian party of national work. This issue existed as a month a bit more than a year. D. Paliiv opened it on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1923 with a headline «Our aims». To each issue the «Zahrava» he gave an ideological and thematically actual articles in which he brought up world outlook, financial and economic questions, physical training business of the young, problems of the Ukrainian university, and the question of journalistic ethics in the professional work. Some articles he did not rewrite at all, while separate of his articles are signed by pseudonym «D. Vesnianskyi».

The following block of his works devoted to the formation of the right-radical camp of the national-liberation movement, in particular, to the political preconditions of the creation and ideological bases of the activity of the Front of national unity (FNU). The initiators of the creation of a new political party were Dmytro Paliiv and Volodymyr Kokhan. For the distribution of the political ideals of the new organisation among the population of Galicia and Volhynia the publishing cooperative society «Bat'kivshchyna («Motherland»)) was founded. At the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the November Revolution, on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1933, the first issue of magazine «Peremoha» («Victory») was edited, which was the date of the establishment of the FNU). (Shanuovsky, 1958: 117). In the editorial headline this was written: «We carve out a new outlook! The destiny of the nation depends on us!» (Paliiv, 1933: 2). D. Paliiv aspired, that the new magazine was read, first of all, by not numerous Ukrainian intelligentsia, – teachers, priests, and co-operators. At first it was a biweekly, then a monthly, and in due course – a quarterly. The magazine was published from 1933 to 1936.

Dmytro Paliiv attentively observed the political process over the members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, criticising Stalin's regime for the prosecution of national-patriotic intelligentsia. He considered that «the intelligent should not refract under the pressure of the refined actions of the enemy» (Paliiv, 1933: 3).

Separately it is necessary to tell about Dmytro Paliiv's views concerning the Second World War beginnings. When the Soviet-German war was beginning, he stood on the ground that the

Ukrainians should take part in it, but not as the guerrillas broken into different groups, but as a schooled military unit (Paliiv, 1968: 107). It was clear that on public bases it was difficult to form such a military structure. Therefore, Paliiv supported that part of the OUN Melnykites which insisted on the creation of a regular department within the German army. He took an active part in the organisation of the Division and establishment of the structure of the Military Board. D. Paliiv not only called the able for military service Ukrainians to join the Division, but also himself joined it. The way he understood the Division's role is obvious from his report «Historical experiences», proclaimed before the foremen-Ukrainians in June, 1944 (Paliiv, 1968: 108). He considered the struggle of isolated guerrilla departments of the UPA against the well organized and armed Bolshevik army ineffectual. However, this Paliiv's thesis is debatable as the UPA, born in 1942 in Volhynia, was greatly supported by the Ukrainian population.

**The conclusions.** The military-political experience and historical traditions of the Ukrainian statehood of 1917 – 1920, according to D. Paliiv, remained underestimated and, appreciably, not investigated, though they would suffice to bring up several generations of state conceiving and creative personalities. This experience was not included into the treasury of the political culture of the people, and without it to generate a civil society seems not possible. So, the ideas of the national-political culture, conclusions concerning the necessity of preparation of professional military figures on the traditions of the princely and Cossack eras became the basis of D. Paliiv's military-political concept. He considered as basic the condition of the revival of Ukrainian statehood its sovereign-territorial and political unity. Grounding on the historical experience of the 1920s – 1930s, D. Paliiv makes such a conclusion: the realisation of the strategic target, namely – the revival of independent sovereign Ukraine, will depend, first of all, on the geopolitical situation in Europe and, also, on its relations with its neighbours and the Great states. One can hardly doubt this conclusion of military-politician D. Paliiv.

So, Dmytro Paliiv's political experience and creative heritage are of great importance for the formation of a multi-party system and, in general, of a civil society in the independent Ukrainian state, and for the improvement of military-patriotic preparation in the contemporary Armed forces of Ukraine.

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